The People's Korea

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4 Scandinavian Countries, Bonn & Paris Protest Kim Dae Jung Case

Four Scandinavian countries and two major Western allies of the United States expressed strong criticisms of the attempt of the Chon Du Hwan-led Seoul junta on the life of Kim Dae Jung, while Washington and Tokyo remain supportive of Lt. Gen. Chon's moves to continue the yusin dictatorial regime.

According to reports reaching here from Western Europe, the four governments of Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Iceland on July 10 jointly urged Seoul to strive for the restoration of democracy.

Their joint appeal in the form of a letter addressed by the Danish Foreign Minister Olesen to south Korean chief executive and the south Korean authorities, expressed "profound concern" over the arrest and the indictment of Kim Dae Jung.

The West German Government and the French Government decided to ask the European Common Market Council of Ministers to intervene with the Seoul junta in favor of Kim Dae Jung.

This disclosure was made by a Bonn government spokesman on July 10. According to him, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his French counterpart Jean Francois-Poncet expressed their shared concern with the alarming developments in south Korea. The two agreed to urge the EEC ministers to take up Kim's case with Seoul.

Prior to this Franco-German decision, the Bonn Government summoned the south Korean "ambassador" Li Chang Hi to its Foreign Ministry to voice deep concern over the political situation in south Korea. In its July 8 meeting with the south Korean diplomat, Foreign Minister Genscher conveyed the concern of his Government about the court-martialing of Kim Dae Jung and the situation of his political allies regarding the suspension of democracy.

He urged the south Korean to communicate the request of his Government to Seoul that the junta should stop persecuting Opposition politicians and restore the freedom of political activities. Former West German Prime Minister Brandt, acting as Chairman of Socialist International, asked on July 4 Choi Gyu Ha to made public details of the reported wound inflicted on Kim Dae Jung. The deputy speaker of the Federal Parliament, called upon Foreign Minister Genscher to investigate the Kim Dae Jung case and demand respect for human rights in south Korea.

According to AFP reports dated July 12, an international conference on Korea held in Rome at the initiative of the Paris-based International Liaison Committee to Support Korea's Reunification, ended its July 11-12 session with a strong appeal to the UN Human Rights Commission to send a special fact-finding mission to south Korea as soon as possible.

The conference, AFP reported, denounced the bloody oppression of the south Korean people struggling for social justice and democracy, and demanded the prompt release of Kim Dae Jung and other dissident leaders. It also criticized American support to the military regime in Seoul.

Amnesty International

Amnesty International, headquartered in London, instructed on April 9 its chapters throughout the world to campaign for the release of Kim Dae Jung and other imprisoned political prisoners and for their fair and public trial.

The international organization called upon the south Koreans to reveal all the places where the detainees were kept and permit their meeting with families and defense counsels.

In Japan: Save-Kim Dae Jung Japan Liaison Committee Formed

On July 11, Japanese political parties, public organizations and noted figures agreed to form the Japan Liaison Committee to Save Kim Dae Jung. They also decided to launch a 10 million-signature campaign, have a national rally and organize an international movement.

The new organization was inaugurated in a meeting held at Shiba Park Hotel in downtown Tokyo on July 11. The meeting was at the proposal of Chairman Makieda Motofumi of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo). Some 60 people were present on the occasion.

Attending the meeting were Chairman Asukata Ichio of the Japan Socialist Party, vice-Chairman Murakami Hiroshi of the Japan Communist Party, Representative Gan Naoto of the Socialist Democratic Union and Diet Member (independent) Utsunomiya Tokuma, Chairman Tateyama Toshifumi of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions and Ishikawa Makoto of the International Liaison Committee to Support Korea's Reunification, Tokyo University professor Wada Haruki and lawyer Sasaki Hidejiro.

The meeting also adopted an appeal to the Japanese people, calling for their cooperation.

A meeting to indict the Kwangju affair was held on July 11 evening at the Shigaku-kaikan Hall in downtown Tokyo. More than 100 scholars, journalists and citizens took part.

The speakers at the meeting under the sponsorship of the Committee of Concerned Korean Observers included commentator Kajitani Yoshihisa, Meiji University law professor Miyazaki Shigeki, Asahi Shimbun vice-editor of foreign news and former correspondent in Seoul Ikari Akira, and Tokyo University professor of international relations Seki Hiroharu.

Mr. Ikari, describing the horrors of the Kwangju massacre committed by the martial law troops, stressed international political stability could not warrant the denial of human dignity and freedom. He characterized the issue of democracy in south Korea as closely linked to those in Japan.

Prof. Seki portrayed the military integration of Washington, Tokyo and Seoul as a big stumbling block to the negotiated settlement of the Korean question.

On July 10, more than 1,200 Tokyoites gathered at the Nihon Kyoiku Centre in downtown Tokyo. They adopted a resolution calling for national action concerning Kwangju, Kim Dae Jung and the attitude of their Government.

Asahi, Jiji Press Bureaus Closed in Seoul; Sankei Reporter Expelled

Without receiving any complaint from the Tokyo Government, the south Korean military regime ordered closed the Seoul bureaus of the Japanese Jiji Press, a news agency, and the Asahi Shimbun as of July 3. On July 4, the correspondent of another Japanese daily Sankei Shimbun was expelled from Seoul.

The reasons for such measure are believed to be the fact that the Asahi Shimbun and the Jiji Press reported that Kim Dae Jung sustained serious wounds as a result of harsh torture according to an article carried in the August issue of Japan's most prestigious monthly journal Sekai. The Sankei Shimbun also reprinted a Jiji Press dispatch.

On May 30, the Seoul bureau of another Japanese news agency Kyodo was ordered closed, and in January last year a bureau chief of the Mainichi Shimbun was expelled.

With four Japanese newspapers and agencies expelled from Seoul, at present, only five Japanese dailies including the Yomiuri, Tokyo, Nihon Keizai, and NHK, are allowed to station their correspondents in south Korea.

Local dailies of Japan have now no access to reports from Seoul because they depended on Kyodo and Jiji for south Korean news stories.

A 1977 AP photo shows Kim Dae Jung removed to Seoul University Hospital from Jinju Prison on December 19, 1977.

Kim Dae Jung Referred To Court-Martial

The martial law authorities of Lt. Gen. Chon Du Hwan on July 12 referred Kim Dae Jung and eight other noted dissident leaders to the military prosecution for indictment on conspiracy for insurrection and other charges, UPI reported.

The martial law command said 28 others involved in the case would also be referred to the army court-martial. No word was given how soon the trial would begin.

Kim was charged with violating "the National Security Law, the Anti-Communist Law, the criminal code concerning sedition, the Foreign Exchange Control Law an martial law proclamations, AP said.

The command, according to AP, two week ago said charges against Kim Dae Jung, including trying to overthrow the government through popular uprisings and violence and spending $500,000 to organize students and others for the alleged plot.

He was also charged with having links with Communist-oriented organizations and Pyongyang.

The eight others were: the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan, 62, a noted biblical authority; Dr. Li Mun Yong, 53, professor, once imprisoned together with Kim; Ye Chun Ho, 52, a "National Assemblyman" who was a top adviser to Kim; Ko Yun Tae, 47, a poet and a leading member of the National Alliance for Democracy and Unification; Kim Sang Hyon, 45, a former "National Assemblyman" who headed an academic research institute; Li Sin Bom, 30; Chang Gi Pyo, 35, and Sim Chae Kwon, 34, alleged leaders of student protests in May.

It is highly unlikely that once charged with high treason at the court-martial, Kim Dae Jung would be acquitted. It is almost certain that he would be found guilty and face a death sentence. For the south Koreans, any public support to Kim charged with sedition would invite prompt reprisal from the martial law authorities and face similar charges.

According to the May 24 issue of Japan's leading daily, the Asahi Shimbun, the Japanese authorities provided the south Korean junta with "documents" to support the allegations that Kim was a "Communist."

The Japanese authorities allowed the KCIA to kidnap Kim Dae Jung in August, 1973 and agreed not to take issue with the abduction case. Japanese Foreign Minister Okita on July 12 said that "a weakened south Korea would not be in the national interests of Japan."

The People's Korea Celebrates Its 1,000th Issue

A grand reception with a buffet and cocktail was hosted by The People's Korea at the Japan Press Center in downtown Tokyo on the evening of July 11 to celebrate its 1,000th issue since its first publication in January, 1961.

More than 100 members of the diplomatic corps and foreign correspondents in Tokyo from some 50 countries were present on the occasion with 50 Korean businessmen who support the publication of The People's Korea.

Flower baskets were set up at the reception from the Tokyo bureaus of the Chinese News Agency, the People's Daily, the Prens Latina (Cuban news agency) and Humanite (a French daily). Prominent guests included Chinese and Russian correspondents, American, British, French, West German, and Australian reporters. NBC, CBS, the New York Times and Washington Post correspondents, too, were present.

Also present was Chairman Han Duk Su of Chongryun (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan).

Present State of Local Industry

The gross output value of local industry last year was 2.8 times the output in 1969. Output of daily necessaries was 7.8 times and textiles and clothing 5.2 times. These figures were disclosed at a national conference of workers in local industry held in Pyongyang from June 28 to 30 in the presence of President Kim Il Sung.

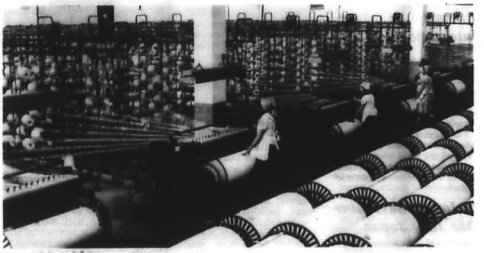
Tasks for the development of local industry were pointed out by President Kim Il Sung in a speech he delivered at the conference. These tasks are aimed at bringing about a great turn in the production of mass consumption goods by developing local industry in conformity with the requirements of socialist construction in a new higher stage.

Kong Jin Tae, Vice-Premier of the Administration Council of the DPRK, made a report "On Bringing about a New Revolutionary Upsurge in the Production of Mass Consumption Goods, Upholding the Programmatic Teachings of the Great Leader."

The conference was attended by more than 10,000 management personnel and model workers in local industrial establishments throughout the country; functionaries of central industrial enterprises and daily necessaries producing workshops, leading functionaries of local branches of the party, representatives of government agencies and economic bodies and personnel of various organisations. Some functionaries made speeches at the conference. Follow highlights of the recent state of local industry:

SUCCESSES

• The gross output value of local industry last year rose 2.8 times over 1969.
— Daily necessaries—7.8 times
— Textiles and clothing—5.2 times
• The assortment of mass consumption goods was increased.



Textile and clothing are most important components of the local industry of the DPRK. Last year their output is 5.2 times the 1969's.

• The number of local industrial enterprises doubled as against 1969.
• The average number of factories in each city or county increased to 20.
• Ranks of technicians were greatly expanded.
• The level of management personnel was raised.
• Mechanization and modernization of local industry was promoted.
• Output and the variety of goods were increased.

TASKS

• To improve the quality of goods manufactured by local industrial factories
• To give fullest play to existing production capacities
• To further modernize the equipment of local industrial factories
• To increase the assortment of goods
• To develop foodstuff industry
• To enhance the role of counties

Counties play a very important role in supplying the farmers with industrial products and supplying farm goods to towns and cities.

• To enforce a cost-accounting system
• To manage labour affairs well to eliminate wasteful labor
• To lower production costs
• To increase output per employee
• To unfold the three-revolution red-flag movement vigorously

Three-Revolution Red-Flag Movement

The three-revolution red-flag movement is a movement among factories, enterprises and cooperative farms to win red flags, which are awarded by the state for their labour successes.

The movement was started in 1975 to further develop the three-revolution team movement. The three-revolution team movement is a movement to push ahead the three-revolutions—ideological, technological and cultural revolutions—in the socialist construction.

In 1973, many teams of party leaders and young intellectuals were sent to factories, enterprises and cooperative farms. They helped and educated workers and farmers to unite themselves firmly and carry out the party's lines and policies of economic construction, teaching workers and farmers their roles in the national economy. This is called the three-revolution team movement.

The three-revolution red-flag movement is aimed at popularizing the three-revolution team movement among all workers and farmers throughout the country.

Red flags are given to the workshops and farms of which workers and farmers have achieved great successes with three-revolution team members according to their resolutionary programs.

The first winner of a red flag was the Chongsanri Cooperative Farm in South Pyongan Province.

19th Anniv. of Korea-China Friendship Treaty

Rodong Sinmun (organ of the CC of the WPK) on July 11 dedicated a signed article to the 19th anniversary of the signing of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China.

The signed article headlined "On the Road of Strengthening Traditional Friendship and Cooperation" noted that the signing of the Korean-Chinese treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance on July 11, 1961, was an epochal event in further consolidating and developing on a new plane the blood-cemented relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the Korean and chinese peoples.

The friendly and cooperative relations between the two peoples have grown stronger and developed in all fields over the past 19 years thanks to this treaty based on the principles of complete equality, mutual respect for sovereignty, non-interference in other's internal affairs and comradely cooperation, the article said, and went on:

The Korean-Chinese friendship which was personally provided and nursed by President Kim Il Sung and Chairman Mao Zedong has struck its roots in the hearts of the two peoples and is in beautiful efflorescence.

The Korean people are rejoiced over the excellent development of the traditional Korean-Chinese friendship with each passing day.

Since the victory of the People's Revolution the fraternal Chinese people have made great successes in the socialist revolution and socialist construction along the revolutionary line advanced by Chairman Mao Zendong by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle. Thanks to the creative endeavours of the industrious and courageous Chinese people, China, once poor and backward, has developed into a new socialist China full of vigor.

Today the Chinese people under the wise leadership of the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Hua Guofeng are striving to build China into a modern socialist power within the present century, adhering to the road of socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought. In order to greet the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China with splendid achievements of labour, the Chinese people are vigorously striving to carry out the militant tasks put forward by the party.

The Korean people are sincerely rejoiced over all the successes registered by the fraternal Chinese people in the building of a new society. The Korean people heartily wish them greater successes in the struggle to achieve the development and prosperity of the country, restore Taiwan to the homeland and reunify the whole country.

The Chinese people actively support the Korean struggle against the "two Koreas" plot of the domestic and foreign splittists and for national reunification.

The Chinese party, government and people hold that the question of Korean reunification should be settled by the Korean people themselves without any outside interference in accordance with the three principles and five-point policy of national reunification put forward by President Kim Il Sung.

The Korean people who value the Korean-Chinese friendship will continue to make every possible effort to consolidate and develop the friendly and cooperative relations with the Chinese people.

(KCNA)

ECONOMIC BULLETIN

● A great production upsurge is being effected at the iron and steel works of the DPRK.

The Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Works, North Hamgyong Province, raised the output of pig iron 10 percent, steel 15 percent and rolled steel 5 percent in May above April.

The sintering workers upped production at over 120 percent compared with the beginning of the year by improving the operation of the large-size continuous sintering furnace with a capacity of 3 million tons.

The Hwanghae Iron and Steel Complex, North Hwanghae Province, is operating all its blasting furnaces at full capacity and improving the operation method, thus increasing the number of teeming 2-3 on a daily average.

In May the complex upped the output of pig iron 33.7 percent, steel 28.3 percent and rolled steel 30.3 percent above the results of the first quarter year in the daily average production.

Remarkable successes are being made at the Kangson Steel Complex, South Pyongan Province, and the Songjin Steel Works, North Hamgyong Province, too.

● The Majon Recreation Center is now being built more beautifully. The construction site is near Hamhung City, South Hamgyong Province.

There will be taken shape a modernly furnished bathing resort, an aquarium of fishes of the DPRK and from many countries of the world, the Majon Lake linking three lakes, an amusement center and a playground, a flower garden and a botanical garden and 149 holiday homes.

The construction of a lotus pond, an artificial hill and several public service facilities has already been completed.

Tens of thousands of trees and flower trees, have been planted in the botanical and flower garden districts.

Along Chongchon River (3)

Nyongbyon County

The Chongchon River joins the Kuryong River in its lower reaches, a part of Nyongbyon county, North Pyongan Province.

Nyongbyon county is famous for its scenic places, historical remains and its speciality silk fabrics.

There are so many beautiful scenic spots in the county that the people sing of its beauty even in folk songs.

Mt. Yaksandongdae is the pride of the people. It is one of the eight scenic spots of western Korea. Strange-shaped steep cliffs stand on the mountain and the crystal-clear Kuryong River flows through a ravine in the mountain. Every season, all peaks and valleys of the mountain are colored with many kinds of flower plants, including azaleas and rhododendrons.

Historical remains on the mountain, in and around the towns attract a large number of sightseers. Among them are neolithic remains at Sejuk village and remains of the Koguryo and Li dynasty periods showing superior architectures by ancient Korean architects.

The county is an important silk producer.

It turns out about 100 kinds of fabrics, including silk fabrics called "Yakdan-dan," "Nyuton," "Tasaek-dan," an twilled rayon fabrics. These fabrics sell well at home and abroad.

Its textile industry accounts for over 50 percent of the total industrial output of the county.

Another speciality is "Yaksan Wine." It is a major export item. Over 50 kinds of foodstuff are processed there.

The developed agriculture is a reliable source of the processing industry. Every year the state sends many farm machines to this county to help it increase its agricultural production, and to make it a model farming county.

A comprehensive farm mechanization project is underway on many farms now.

(To be continued)

The Pogwang Temple of Nyongbyon County

New Building Complex: Pyongyang Maternity Hospital

One more complex building has made its appearance in Pyongyang, the capital of the DPRK. That is the Pyongyang Maternity Hospital. The hospital which stands near the Taedong River was completed in only 9 months.

The Pyongyang Maternity Hospital has 6 buildings, with a total floor space of 60,000 square meters, including a 13—storeyed main building. There are over 2,000 rooms in these 6 buildings in all. Corridors and stairs of the buildings have marble facing and the walls and ceilings are all beautifully light-colored. The hospital has all facilities and equipment necessary for medical treatment not only of pregnant women but also of children who were born or will be born there. It has integrated monitoring systems, TV monitoring equipment and various kinds of signal communication equipment, which enable doctors to watch their patients, get information and discuss treatment at any time without leaving their rooms. Of ourse, every room is air-conditional.

All its ambulances are equipped with all facilities necessary for emergency medical care. A women, once in an ambulance, does not need to move at all until she reaches the delivery room.

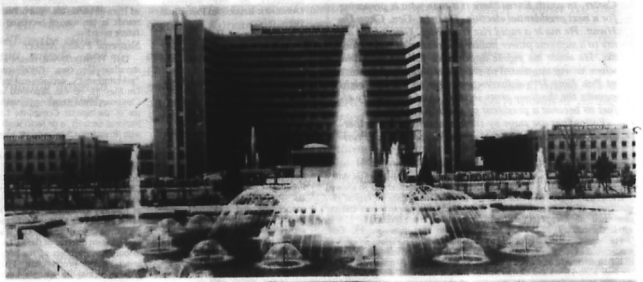
In the delivery room are found all kinds of equipment which enable the doctors to examine the pregnant women and their babies in de tail, as well as equipment which eases delivery and helps pregnant women in childbirth in other ways. There is a production center of Oriental medicines in the hospital. It produces various kinds of Oriental medicines for female diseases and baby nursing.

The Pyongyang Maternity Hospital is not only a hospital but also a training center of gynecologists and clinicians as it has educational and scientific research facilities.

The new hospital serves Korean women and babies completely free of charge. The completion of the maternity hospital shows the deep care of the state for the women of the country.

Women in the DPRK receive various benefits from the state so that they can participate in social activities like men without worrying about their homes.

All the housewives deliver their babies at well equipped maternity hospitals free of charge. A 77-day maternity leave is guaranteed for working mothers. In addition, they receive holidays for morning sickness and if they suffer from a trouble of monthly day they can get treatment in hospitals or clinics in their workplaces. In south Korea



75.9% of the housewives deliver babies in their homes, more than half receiving no medical assistance in childbed. Only 20.9% of the pregnant women deliver their babies at hospitals, and 3.01% receive the assistance of midwives. (From Seoul Kyongje Sinmun, Jan. 30, 1980. The statistics were compiled by the State Health Research Center in five places from 1973 to 1977, covering 505 housewives who delivered babies. These places were the Ryongsan district of Seoul, Hwasong county of Kyonggi Province, Chungchon City of Kangwon Province, Buyo county of South Chungchong Province, Buan county of South Cholla Province.)

In the DPRK, workers' homes are all built near their workplaces. Apartments have supermarkets on the first floor for the convenience of shopping women. Rice-cooking factories are found in many apartments to provide cooked rice to households. Working women can buy side-dishes for breakfast early in the morning and those for supper in the afternoon if they want.

Nurseries and kindergartens are built near working mothers' work places to enable them to take their children to nurseries and kindergartens on their way to their work or to breast their babies twice or three times a day during working hours. About 3.5 million babies and children are taken care of in over 60,000 nurseries and kindergartens free of charge throughout the country.

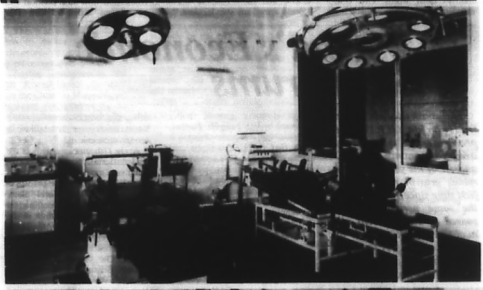


Photo: Clockwise from the top

- **Foreground of the Pyongyang Maternity Hospital**
- **Room for inpatients**
- **Delivery room**
- **Operation room**
- **Babies' room**

Chon Du Hwan's Ambition for Presidency

At a time when the presidential campaign is a hot contest in the United States between Republican candidate Donal Regan and incumbent President Jimmy Carter, in south Korea there is a man who is preparing for a next presidential election. He is Lt. Gen. Chon Du Hwan. He made a rapid rise from Maj. Gen. of the army to a supreme power holder in a matter of eight months. He made his public appearance for the first time when he was appointed as chief investigator of the case of Pak Jung Hi's assassination. During the past eight months the shadowy army security chief made every effort to become a president of south Korea.

Followings are stage by stage accounts of his desperate efforts to seize the seat of the all-powerful "President."

▲

Mil. Strongman

IN THE FIRST STAGE, the shadowy army security chief eliminated all his potential foes within the military.

The American-trained strongman was appointed as chief investigator of his experienced and trusted mentor Pak Jung Hi's assassination at the end of last October. He prosecuted rigorous investigations of an assassin Kim Jae Gyu, the former KCIA chief and his "accomplices," defining the job as a test of his leadership of the military rather than a battle to avenge the death of his mentor and his senior Cha Ji Chol, then chief presidential bodyguard.

Then, on December 12 last the general achieved an unchallenged position within the military as a result of coup-like arrest of his superior Gen. Chong Sung Hwa and other brasshats—All of them were the Japanese-trained officers like slain Pak Jung Hi. The bloody arrest was backed up by Washington. In other words, CIC commander Chon, only capable of mobilizing a small army of MP's under his command was to allowed to order into action the capital garrison troops, paratroopers and the front-line crack forces.

From that time on, Lt. Gen. Chon laid down various schemes to put the military into the limelight, draw popular attention to its activities, and justify a growing role of the military in policy decision-makers.

This move included massive war games and those jointly conducted with the U.S. troops: "Magex '80" and "Unfailing Victory" in January; "DMZ (Demilitarized zone) exercise" in February; and "Shield '80" and "Team Spirit '80" in March. Cold water was poured on the resumed north-south talks for a bilateral Premiers meeting. Together with successive military exercises, the so-called "north Korean armed infiltration incidents" were alleged—the "March 23 infiltration of north Korean frogmen incident"; the "March 25 infiltration of a north Korean spy boat incident; and the "June 21 north Korean armed spy ship incident."

In this stage, he conducted a reshuffle of the Cabinet and had incompetent Choe Gyu Ha taken a seat of President, removing all members of the majority Democratic Republican Party from public office.

Liquidation of Pol. Foes

THE SECOND STAGE involved the expansion of martial law throughout the whole of south Korea, which liquidated political life of his foes two Kims, Kim Jong Pil, DRP President and ex-presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung who was once close to defeating the slain strongman Pak in the 1971 presidential election.

In order to improve his status, Chon Du Hwan skillfully exploited the Mideast trip of Choe Gyu Ha. President Choe left for Mideast to ask for a large-scale economic cooperation and seek for cheap crude oil when major students' anti-"yusin" protests were occurring in all parts of south Koreas. His absence allowed Chon to expand-martial law to the whole of south Korea, transferring full powers to the martial law command, and rehearsed a coup attempt.

Another aspect of the second stage was to launch a two-pronged operation on the dissident forces and doves within the Establishment. Nearly 15 hours after the expansion of martial law, mass arrests comprised twenty-six prominent political figures including Kim Dae Jung and Kim Jong Pil was carried out.

Charges against Kim Dae Jung were engineering the recent students and citizens uprising in Kwangju, South Cholla Provincial capital, while Kim Jong Pil was charged with illegally hoarding wealth in connection with their political and government activities. Kim Dae Jung is reportedly faced with an execution while Kim Jong Pil was released on June 28.

Thus, two Kims, possible next presidential candidates, were purged from all public life. And nobody stands in the way of becoming a future president.

Supreme Policy Maker

THE THIRD STAGE meant integrating Lt. Gen. Chon into "governmental" decision-making: On May 31, he was appointed as Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Special Committee for National Security, a de facto junta, with President Choe reduced to a puppet.

The Special Committee has 24 members: 14 senior military officers, including Chon; eight Cabinet ministers; two other civilian officials; and no members of majority DRP, Kim Jong Pil's party. Four of the Cabinet ministers are retired generals and another is a past assistant director of the KCIA, so only five members of the body aren't security professionals. Five generals belong to Chon's inner circles (Maj. Gen. Ro Tae U, commander of the capital garrison command; Lt. Gen. Cha Gyu Hon, super intendent of the Korea Military Academy; Lt. Gen. Kim Yon Ho, a corps commander. Another officer, Maj. Gen. Chong Ho Yong, commander of the Special Forces, also recently has been regarded as close to the inner circles, particularly since the Special Forces took a leading role in imposing martial law in Seoul, Kwangju and other cities.

Its standing committee has 30 members 19 senior officers included. President Choe is nominally chairman of the Special Committee, but the military dominates the panel.

The Cabinet of new prime minister Pak Chung Hun, former deputy prime minister and head of the Korea Traders Association, was also dominated by the brasshats close to Chon.

THE FOURTH STAGE is creating a legal framework to justify the military takeover and pave the way for an indirect presidential election. It was announced on June 12 that a draft Constitution would be put to a national referendum by October to come and a presidential election will be held following the proclamation of a new Constitution—a new "yusin" constitution adopted under martial law.

This technique presents a striking similarity that used by Pak Jung Hi. At the time of May 16, 1961, in order to give a legal semblance to his military government, then Maj. Gen. Pak Jung Hi gave the then army chief of staff Gen. Chang Do Yong the title of Chairman of the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction and asked the then president Yun Bo Son to remain in office. Then, when he built up his political power basis, he expelled both Chang and Yun.

The situation in south Korea today is different than it was when Pak Jung Hi launched his one-man rule in 1961. Most of the grass-roots want a democratic government. Most feel it should be time for democracy to be the system of south Korea, and they will vigorously fight to the last for democracy. Their heroism was clearly exemplified in the Pusan-Masan affair which followed the Pak's assassination and the recent Kwangju uprising. They will never forget the indiscriminate atrocities committed by the Chon junta against students and citizens in Kwangju. They never permit such a mass slaughterer as Chon take a seat of president.

Seoul's Economic Doldrums

The south Korean Chon Du Hwan junta is facing the problem of the deeply troubled economy. The first quarter of the year showed a minus growth rate for the first time since 1974. During the same period inflation soared at a 48 percent annual rate. A list of a few of the more spectacular headaches indicates the scope of the problem.

$10 Bil. Foreign Loan

After Pak Jung Hi grasped power by the May 16 military coup of 1961, his regime concluded the "ROK-Japan treaty" in 1965 and received over $8 billion in economic cooperation aid with or without compensation from Japan.

How enormous this foreign aid was, will be clear from the fact that the total of south Korean export and import in 1961 amounted to $357 million.

The Pak Jung Hi regime, on the basis of the so-called property claim aid from the Japanese government, worked out the "economic development plan" for "high economic growth."

In the initial stage of introduction of foreign aid, the Pak regime was not pressed to repay the debt when the period of repayment came.

The internal or external economic situation surrounding the Chon Du Hwan junta is entirely different from what it was during the Pak regime.

The present south Korean economic situation singularly marked by the total bankruptcy of the "high economic growth" policy followed by Pak Jung Hi. Further, international economic situation is such that the United States and Japan, the two major sources of aid to south Korea, are hard-hit by the world-wide shortage of oil and other natural resources. The United States and Japan do not have any economic surpluses enough to enable them to extend aid to south Korea.

Moreover, the Chon junta is obliged to repay foreign loans earlier extended to the Pak regime.

According to an announcement made by the Economic Planning Board on May 3, south Korea's short-time and long-term foreign loans amounted to $22.5 billion at the end of April this year.

Due to stagnant exports, trade deficits amounted to $2,136 million by the end of April this year.

Even according to an announcement by the Economic Planning Board, it is inevitable that this year's trade deficits will amount to $5,700 million-$6,000 million, in view of increased oil imports, which are expected to total $6,000-$7,000 million, or double the previous year.

At the beginning of this year, invisible trade surpluses such as revenues from foreign tourists was expected to amount to $800 million and to partially offset trade deficits. However, due to the political turmoil as represented by the Kwangju indicent, it became [illegible] for south Korea to lure a [illegible]ber of foreign tourists. [illegible]ing good can be expecte[illegible] as source.

In order to improve growing trade deficits and repayments of debts, plus interest payment, south Korea needs over $10 billion in foreign economic aid.

At the 11th annual meeting of the International Economic Consultative Organization for Korea (IECOK) held from June 24 to 28 in Paris, where the World Bank presented a report expressing great concern over the stagnation of the south Korean economy, the south Korean representative, deputy Prime Minister Kim Won Gi, asked the IECOK countries (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, and the U.S.) to extend some $8,000 million loans to shore up the nation's deteriorating international balance of payments position. The IECOK announced on June 28 an agreement had been reached to lend south Korea up to $16 billion over the next two years.

At the previous meeting held last year, the south Korean delegation said that south Korea's total foreign capital over the three years up to 1981 would be $4 billion. But foreign loans inducted last year alone already amounted to over $5.5 billion. If this pace is kept into practice, south Korea's total foreign capital requirement in the three year period from 1979 will be $23.5 billion. This means that a vast amount of foreign loans surpassing the outstanding foreign loans extended in the past twenty years will be introduced into south Korea in the three year period.

All of this foreign aid will be used for repayment of debts and interest payment as well as for the purpose of covering international balance of payment deficits, and will not be used at all for domestic investment.

Bankrupt Int'l Balance of Payment

The June 28 issue of the major daily Dong-A Ilbo said: "Foreign loans inducted in 1979 may be said to have been used to fill the foreign currency gap, while foreign loans introduced before 1978 were used for economic growth or for increased capital spending."

At the end of March this year, the balance of foreign credits amounted to around $21.8 billion, an increase of $7 billion in one year from 1979. Of this total, short-term loans which had to be paid in one year, amounted to $5.8 billion.

It will be difficult for the south Koreans to attain the goal of the 4th Five-Year Plan (from 1979 to 1981). A report made public by the IBRD say that even if the annual deficit in the current account is maintained on a level of $5 billion in the 1980s, the credit-redemption ratio will fall below the danger line of 16 percent. The south Korean regime predicts this year's deficit in the current account will reach $6 billion.

At the beginning of this year, south Korea sent an economic mission headed by the deputy premier to the United States to ask for a vast amount of economic aid, while in May premier Choe Gyu Ha visited the Middle Eastern countries to ask for the supply of funds and crude oil.

In spite of Seoul's desperate efforts to secure more foreign loans, investments were decided to be made only in the following projects: $1,650 million from the U.S. Import-Export Bank for the construction of an atomic power plant; $350 million from the World Bank in economic aid; and $840 million from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for economic construction, totaling only $2.8 billion.

The sum of $2.8 billion is only one third of the total amount of foreign loans required by the south Koreans needs this year.

Clearly, the present economic situation of south Korea is more depressed than under the Pak regime. In the initial stage of the Pak regime, foreign investments were mainly made in export-oriented industries, and were used mainly as funds to promote the "export-first policy" of the Pak regime.

Withdrawal of Foreign Concerns

At present, foreign investors hesitate to invest in south Korea, afraid that the political and social unrest will have a negative effect on south Korea's economy.

According to a Japanese newspaper, the Japanese big electric maker Sony Corp. Towered its ownership at the south Korean joint venture Hwashin Sony Corp. from 49 percent to 19 percent and had the name of the company changed to Hwashin Electric Corp. Sony Corp. is said to be withdrawing from south Korea.

"Matsushita Electric Industrial Co." had orally withdrawn its investments from the Korea National Electric Corp. by the end of March.

Most Japanese electric makers including Toshiba Corp. already withdrew from south Korea and other Japanese ship-building, timber, textile, and electric enterprises which were once active in south Korea are also planning to withdraw from south Korea. (The Japanese Asahi Shimbun, May 31)

The withdrawal of Japanese enterprises from south Korea clearly show that they no longer exploit the labor market of south Korea because of the present political turmoil, chronic inflation and rising prices of raw materials.

The instability of the south Korean economy and its gloomy future are clearly seen in the fact that big Japanese enterprises are busy preparing for withdrawal from there since Pak's assassination and many of them already started withdrawing their interests before and after the Kwangju incidents.

'Letter to Fellow Countrymen' Scattered from Seoul Building

This is an English translation of an appeal written on hundreds of handbills scattered from the rooftop of the Christian Building in Seoul by a university student on May 30, 1980. The youth, named, Kim Ui Gi, died. One theory is that he threw himself to the ground from the rooftop to commit suicide, and another that someone else possibly an army agent pushed him from the rooftop down to the ground as he was scattering handbills. Follows its text:

Fellow countrymen, what are you doing at this moment when the sound of crazy jackboots, which cry for blood, is breaking into even the silence of our sleep? This sound stirs our hearts and minds. Fellow countrymen, what are you doing when this invisible terror obstructs our breath, blocks our sight and plugged our ears and at a time when it tries to make slaves of us at gunpoint?

Oh, fellow countrymen, look at Cholla Provinces, where, under the clear blue skies of May, hundreds of good-minded citizens shed their blood in the merciless massacre whose accounts were totally distorted. Mass media on the payroll of the Yushin remnants falsely portrayed the massacre with evil intentions.

Although the regime of Park collapsed after nearly 20 years of oppression and dictatorship with his assassination, a new and even more ruthless oppression and dictatorship is being maintained by its remnant forces. We are well aware that fraudulent statistics and ill-advised economic theory drove the people into extreme distress. To the survival of Yushin, all the people at large pose a major threat, while a handful of the rich and powerful persons are not.

Now the wall of the remaining Yushin is in its final stage of decay. We are not at an important crossroad. Shall we live as slaves, or shall we live as free men? Shall we inherit our national history to become proud and fair ancestors to our prosperity?

Oh, fellow countrymen, let us rise, rise to the last man! Our struggle is to put the direction of our history on the right track and we will win certainly. Let us give a telling blow at the last remnant of Yushin. Stand up! Stand up! Let us get together tomorrow at the plaza in front of the Seoul Station and fight this holy war!

Pyongyang Scores Japan for Supporting Chon Junta

Pyongyang told Tokyo to stop supporting Chon Du Hwan. Pyongyang was referring to a recent meeting between interim Japanese Premier Ito and the south Korean counterpart Pak Chung Hun.

Pyongyang, recalling the connivance of the Japanese authorities at the court-martialing of Kim Dae Jung, denounced the refusal of the Tokyo Government to protest the Chon Du Hwan junta against the unjustifiable expulsion of Japanese reporters from Seoul. The bureaus in Seoul of the Asahi Shimbun and the Jiji Press were ordered closed. A correspondent of the Sankei Shimbun was also deported from south Korea.

A latest comment on the closer relationships between the yusin remnants in Seoul and the Japanese was contained in an article of Rodong Sinmun, organ of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea.

Follows a KCNA gist of the Rodong Sinmun commentary dated July 12.

Interim Japanese Prime Minister Ito in his recent talks with the acting prime minister of south Korea, said the military dictatorship was inevitable in south Korea, prattling that "political stability is all the more important for economic stability" and that Japan would strengthen "not only economic cooperation but also close bonds in all fields in the future, too," and on the day following the talks a large "purchasing mission" of Japan visited Seoul.

In a signed commentary titled "Shameless Defence of Conspirator" Rodong Sinmun says:

Today when the Chon Du Hwan junta are isolated internally and externally for their military fascist rule and brutal suppression of the people and are in the grip of a serious economic crisis, the Japanese reactionaries discussed the question of "strengthening cooperation" with the south Korean military fascist clique and sent an unprecedentedly big "economic mission" to south Korea. This is an unpardonable act designed to deliver the puppets from the economic bankruptcy and openly encourage their crimes.

By further strengthening the "south Korea-Japan fusion" through the Chon Du Hwan clique, the Japanese reactionaries try to hold in check the mounting struggle of the people against fascism and for democracy in south Korea and maintain the truculent military fascist rule under the pretext that "political stability is more important."

The Japanese reactionaries also try to fix the division of our country and stretch their tentacles of reinvasion deep-into south Korea by actively backing the military fascist clique politically, economically and militarily.

It proceeded from this intenstion that they recently decided to strengthen exchange of staff officers "in military uniform" with the south Korean puppets.

The Japanese Government took a vague attitude, merely expressing "regret" at the Chon Du Hwan clique's recent fascist step of closing the Seoul offices of the Japanese Asahi Shimbun and Jiji News Agency and expelling their correspondents. This was also connected with such intention.

This intention of the Japanese authorities is revealed all the more saliently in the fact that they are conniving at the military fascists' scheme to penalize Kim Dae Jung, saying that it is an "internal affairs," the commentary notes, and remarks:

This is a crafty double-dealing tactics of the Japanese Government aimed to deceive and flout public opinion of Japan and the world denouncing the scheme to penalize Kim Dae Jung and to defend and encourage the south Korean military fascist clique.

In fact, the "Kim Dae Jung kidnap case" in August 1973 was conducted with the connivance and cooperation of the Japanese authorities.

To atone for the mistake it committed hand in glove with the south Korean puppets in the past, the Japanese Government must take a proper step to protect the life of Kim Dae Jung threatened by the Chon Du Hwan clique.

The Japanese reactionaries who conspired with traitor Pak Jung Hi in the past in the Kim Dae Jung abduction case are now joining hands with such military gangsters as Chon Du Hwan to cover up their plot to penalize Kim Dae Jung.

If the Japanese authorities persist in backing and encouraging the south Korean military fascists in disregard of the demand of the Japanese people and the trend of the times, they will be more resolutely rejected by public opinion at home and abroad.

The Japanese reactionaries must immediately discontinue defending and supporting the Chon Du Hwan clique and take an effective step for the release of Kim Dae Jung.

Truth of Kwangju Affair

(Continued from the previous issue.)

Student Body Formed

Students formed an organisation to maintain peace and order in the city.

As soon as the occupied Provincial Office building became the temporary headquarters of students, the public square in front of the Provincial Office building and the Sonnamro district were filled with crowds. Citizens once again held a "meeting" orderly, shouting slogans — "End Matial Law!", "Let Chon Du Hwan Resign!" and "Release Kim Dae Jung and other detainees!"

A counter-measure committee was formed by representatives of religious and academic circles, lawyers, students and journalists.

To prevent another bloody showdown the committee made efforts to collect weapons from citizens, appealing to them that martial law troops would never rush into the city.

Acting prime minister Pak Choong Hoon who had said that he would have a dialogue with citizens surprised them when he flew over the Kwangju City in a helicopter to inspect the city, dropped in only at the north-south martial law headquarters to listen to explanations and made a special statement.

A large number of guns and cartridges were collected by the counter measure committee. Although it submitted conditions for a settlement, it failed in making the martial law authorities accept them in the negotiation with them.

It decided to demand president Choi Gyu Ha admit his mishandling of the Kwangju affair, apologize before the nation and make a sincere promise concerning on compensation and promise never to take political reprisals in future. While these points were being negotiated, the martial law headquarters ordered its troops to rush into the city, breaking the promise made before the nation. This made students distribute once again weapons they had returned to the committee and armed themselves with them. Concerned over the occurrence of a bloody showdown on the street, like the one staged when the martial law troops had rushed into the city, the countermeasure committee conducted a death-defying march toward the tank to protest against the martial law troops instead of resorting to violence. Then, the martial law troops retreated, and negotiations between the martial law troops and the committee were held again.

When told that the commander of the martial law troops in the city was not in a position to reach a settlement with the committee, a spokesman of the committee left for Seoul to meet the President.

The Japanese daily "Asahi Shimbun" reported that a gun battle was fought with lash cartridge shots before dawn on May 17, that the martial law troops occupied once again the city after a bloody showdown and that they were elated like victors as if they had seized enemy land.

No stain of blood remained on the ground that had soaked the blood of citizens, no shouts of democratic citizens were heard in Kwangju.

Visitors who came to Kwangju after they listened to the announcements made by the authorities that the situation had been saved, thinking the city had been destroyed by rioters, rebellious elements and extremists, had a strange feeling to a too calm atmosphere prevailing in the city.

This was because they saw these parts of the city which remained undestroyed during the battle between the paratroops and citizens. Three broadcasting stations in Kwangju City — MBC, KBC and CBC — and two newspaper companies made false reports on the number of the dead and the wounded, failing to perform their responsibility as organs of mass media to report the truth.

As the citizens were termed by these as mereciless and riotous mobsters, these organs of mass media increased the anger of the citizens, who finally destroyed and burned their building.

Well-Trained Citizens

Foreign reporters said that the level of the citizens was high as would be clear from the fact that during the battle there were no bank burglars and that water and electricity were supplied normally, although there were a few incidents related to the seizure of guns.

It is reported that boy and girl students organised security maintenance units to protect banks and rice warehouses of agriculture cooperatives and promptly and timely prevented some untutored youths from attacking them.

On the front gate and walls of the Kwangju Police Station were hung slogans such as "The police should protect their own property. When it is destroyed, citizens would have to pay additional taxes.

Even in the situation all communication and traffic were suspended by the martial law troops and daily necessities and foodstuffs were not supplied. There was no merchant who tried to hoard goods and refused to sell goods. There were no profiteers.

In the difficult situation in which no one knew when uncertain things would settle citizens shared their food with each other, and when the number of the heavily wounded requiring blood transfusion increased, citizens formed a line to donate their blood. There still is some of the blood donated them.

Girl Students Supply Food

Women and girl students supplied their own food and medicine to demonstrators and even to hungry martial law troops as if they had forgotten their strong hatred for them.

Although the whole truth about the incident has not yet been told, at least three are reported to have been arrested. For about ten days, no law enforcement were present in the city, but it is said that citizens swept away stones, pieces of glasses and tear-gas bombs scattered everywhere, that doctors and nurses took patients to their hospitals and treated them at the risk of their lives, taxi drivers protected young men also at the risk of their live—people who had been discarded as the lowest, proved to be the noblest. We cannot forget the warm-hearted woman who cried so sorrowfully when the paratroops flourished their clubs, and Kwangju citizens who appealed the paratroops not to destroy buildings or set fire to them.

These acts of citizens were not those of "rioters."

If they had been rebellious elements, they would not have acted like that. Nevertheless, they were called rebellious elements and rioters. They are spending uneary days, under the threat that they may be arrested at any moment. Nobody understands what the Kwangju citizens really are. Although they take a part as democratic citizens, and with their hearts hurt when they are treated as if they were refugees, they turn away from the relief supplies sent from the people of other provincies. Thus, the army has left a deep grudge burning in the hearts of all the Kwangju people and people throughout the country. They hide the truth about the affair, by gagging mass media in order to force their responsibility upon the Kwangju citizens, the responsibility for bloody crackdown unprecedented in the nation's modern history.

Moreover, we regret that the military can remain calm over the atrocities they themselves committed and feel no pangs of conscience.

(Concluded)

Ex-S. Korean "President" Yun Po Son:

"Turning Point—An Appeal To Our People" (1)

Follows a first part of a gist of ex-"president" Yun Po Son's article "Turning Point—An Appeal to Our People" carried in the June issue of Wolgan Chungang, a south Korean monthly.

S. Korean Monthly Wolgan Chungang Banned

Now our country is facing a crucial turning point. Whether we can establish democracy on a solid base or we come to allow the establishment of a false democratic society—all things depend on this moment.

This turning point is a product of the "Oct. 26 incident (Pak Jung Hi was shot to death by his associate Kim Jae Gyu on Oct. 26 last year)." Since the Oct. 26 incident, our country has experienced a big changes which was not imagined one year ago. This change is now going on and should continue in the future, too.

This, however, is not enough. A radical change should be achieved. Our country should go toward setting up a democratic system.

To establish a democratic system means not to make a Constitution favousable to a dictatorship of any individual but to adopt a Constitution for all the people.

A new Constitution should be one based on unshakable and steadfast foundations with a far-sighted long-term national policy guidelines. In the process of formulating a Constitution, various kinds of opinions and methods might be produced. However, their underlying principle should be to help establish a democratic Constitution for the common benefit of all the people.

In my individual opinion, I agree to a government based on parliamentalism than a presidential system. The presidential system is apt to bring out a dictatorship in the light of the past experiences.

Except the U.S. most of the democratic states take parliamentalism.

In the U.S. the congress is gradually increasing its influence.

The past experiences and theory show that a presidential system has more demerits than merits.

An important thing is that a Constitution should not be framed with attention to any particular person or any group's interests alone. If someone schemes such a thing at this crucial time, he will become a sinner to be branded by history.

There is a more important thing than a Constitution. That is persons who directly operate the Constitution. The Constitution of the pastitself was not wrong. Even a good Constitution was changed by the rulers to rationalize their dictatorship.

It is more important than the Constitution that those who take power sincerely consider the history of our country and manage the Constitution correctly, being conscious of the nation's will.

Namely, democracy requires a person of moral integrity rather than a splendid system.

If the government elected by the people is not conscious of the people's will and comes to hold an absolute authority, the people should never allow it.

The people should demonstrate to those in power how strong the might of the people is. Our people already demonstrated their united strength in the past.

The martial law command in Seoul banned Wolgan Chungang, a leading monthly journal of south Korea as its June issue carried articles calling for democracy and reunification.

The financier of the magazine is a major business group Samsong. The reasons for its ban and its period were not made public. On July 3, its Tokyo branch acknowledged that the magazine was banned.

The issue in question was edited before May 17 when full martial law was expanded to the whole of south Korea. The articles which offended the Chon Du Hwan-led junta are: former "President" Yun Po Son's article, "Turning Point—An Appeal to Our People"; Catholic bishop Daniel Chi Hak Sun's article, "Direction of the Opposition Movement for Democracy"; and Sogang University professor Li Sang Wu's story, "Democratic Development As Seen from the Viewpoint of Reunification."

In his article Yun called for ceaseless resistance to any slightest sign of dictatorial politics, while the Catholic bishop blasted those in power from 1945 to the present for dealing with our people as a colonial people while depending on the outside forces. Prof. Li called for popular participation in north-south negotiations as the reunification process was a supra-governmental and pan-national job.

The June issue also carried other articles on labor and the press.

On November 1 last year, another monthly journal "Sedae" (Era) was banned. The monthly Wolgan Chungang was banned for three months starting in October two years ago.

I hope the people's resistance will not be repeated. In this sense, now is a very important time for our country. If we come to lose this first-rate turning point to restore democracy, it is very unhappy to our history.

At this crucial moment, we, the people, should form one body and restore freedom. We should resist, whenever necessary, we should argue, whenever necessary, and we should compromise, whenever necessary, at this turning point.

Due formalities should be gone through, when one starts to work. Now we are requested to restore democracy. Competence of taking political power is a secondary question.

The people should pay attention to this point. The people should keep an eye on rulers' moves to make sure that democracy will be restored and be stabilized in our country. The people should assure that everything will proceed smoothly.

Thinking in retrospect, I think it is hard to find such a nation like our people to love peace. In thousand of years of our history, our nation has never invaded other nations.

Our people is far from soft and spiritless simply because they love peace.

When our country was invaded by foreign forces, our people as well as the regular troops fought the aggressors. This is the second peculiarity of our people.

When our regular troops failed to cope with aggressive foreign forces, our people rained a loyal army with empty hands. Even priests in mountain temples organized priests into units and resisted the invaders. This is the history of our people. Where else can we find such people?

The national security is not swayed by the number of armies but depends on the spirit of citizens. Victory or defeat of war depends on spiritual strength. This can be seen in the Vietnam war in which the U.S. was defeated-by Vietnam.

(To be continued)

Korean Paintings "Chrysanthemum" By Han Ryol

SHORT STORY

Fellow Travellers (8)

By Kim Byong Hun

(Continued from the previous issue)

Now we were talking about how to turn the entire county into a fish breeding ground. I knew the size of almost every reservoir in the county, and Myong Suk figured out our county would produce about one thousand tons of fish within two to three years. She also thought carps and gibels and a few others would be the best for our county. Then she added there was no worry about fish feed because our county had ample resources. She and I even "decided" what fish would be most suitable to each reservoir. In the end I had a suggestion.

"Myong Suk, I think your co-op should become a sort of mother fish to other villages."

"But, how can our co-op do such a big job?"

"Of course, you can. I think fish breeding will make a very profitable side-line for our people. Of course, you will have to go through some trouble to raise the young ones. But once we put the fish in the pond, we will have a plenty of fish in a few years with little effort. Now, we must do this."

"But Pa, would the county agree to this?" She said with a dubious look at me. I had told her I was with the county people's committee. I expressed a command to say: You sure you can do anything like this?

"So, you don't put any stakes on what I'm saying. You should not underestimate me, Pa."

"No, Pa! I did not mean that..."

"Good! I was joking, too. In our country it doesn't matter who makes a proposal. The question is whether that proposal will bring benefit to the people or, not. All in all, in our county we haven't done a thing with our reservoirs. So we do not know how much damage we have done to the people."

In a rather agitated voice I talked to her. Evidently, I was rebuking myself. With her eyes wide open, she stared at me.

"Myong Suk, I tell you what! When I go back to county, I'm going to tell the County Party Committee everything we discussed today. Then I'm going to ask them to tell your chairman to show more interest in your work. What d'you think of that?"

"County Party organization? Realy, you mean it?"

"Of course, I certainly do!"

"If that happens, things would be quite different. If my farm is behind me and the whole county start rolling the ball. Oh, my! How wonderful it would be! You sure, Pa, you can do it?"

We went through again what we had discussed and we redid the figuring. And I put down everything in my memo.

Suddenly there was a voice from the station office.

"Yes, yes, I understand. You mean freight train No. 46. I am to detach two cement cars, right?"

Myong Suk quietly listened to the telephone conversation, then stood up saying that she would be back right away. She disappeared outside.

She must have gone to the office. I could hear her voice, though I could not catch what she was saying. After a while I lit up a cigarette, and strolled over towards the office. Myong Suk was speaking to the elderly-looking station-master.

"Please! You got to help me. Please look at things from the standpoint of the state. After all, rules are made to help us do a better job. If you don't help me, all my fish will die. In the end, if that happens, you will be responsible for that, too."

"Now, now, young lady! So, if I don't let you go, you mean to say the fish breeding work of your co-op will be ruined. Then I shall be responsible for that. Right? I have been a station-master for all my life, but never did I see any such bold soul as you."

"But please, Pa! Let me take the freight. Next fall, you know what I will do? I will bring you a dozen big carps."

"Only a dozen, eh? That won't be enough for me. Seems I am helpless. I don't like to be sued for fifty tons of fish, ha ha ha..."

"Alright then, Pa! I won't do that."

It seems a true heart wins over everybody. Before ten minutes passed, a long freight train pulled into the station, on which I too got a seat eventually. Myong Suk and I sat on the steps of the caboose, enjoying the fresh air and talking about our plans. She told me about gibels and other fish that our county will breed. Then I asked her to tell me something about the young people of Chonkaeri.

Myong Suk readily told me about them, one by one.

Tall Pak improved the hand-weeder into a tractor-drawn weeder, it was Kim that built a weather forecast station—he thinks farming should be done in a scientific way and he gives weather forecast every morning. Several boys went up to the county seat to learn car driving because the co-op is expecting to get a few trucks in the fall. Then there were stories about girl pig-breeders. She also added their dramatic circle was preparing new programme, a young fellow Choe was working on a brand of new high yielding corn, then there will be an excursion to Pyongyang after this year's harvest.

I thought her story would never end. But she gave a vivid picture of the Chonkaeri Co-op Farm brimming with vigor, enthusiasm, and intelligence. I was convinced that the co-op farm was dashing ahead confidently.

When she finished talking she stood up and began to hum leaning against the caboose railings.

Along the railway tracks ran a small clear stream. On its banks green bushes of pines and other trees were bathed in the sun. As if mindful of their beautiful foliage, trees cast lovely pictures in the stream.

(To be continued)

Korean Cultural History

Architecture of Silla (20)

Sokkuram, Cavern

(Continued from the previous issue)

From the last years of the 7th century, Silla achieved high degrees of culture.

On a basis of the architecture of the three-kingdom period, the Pulguk Temple and Sokkuram (a grotto shrine) were built in 751 in Kyongju, North Kyongsang Province. Sokkuram is a typical architecture of that period.

According to Samguk-yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), Kim Tae Song built the Pulsok Temple (Sokkuram) for his parents in the previous life and the Pulguk Temple for them in the earthly world.

The design of the grotto shrine shows an effective utilization of plane geometry and solid geometry. The properties of stone were well-considered.

Sokkuram is located half-way up Mt. Toam in Kyongju. It bears vivid traces of the high-level efforts made by the artisans and artists of Silla to combine art with scientific and technical knowledge—keeping harmony between nature and architecture, between architecture and sculpture and between stone statues and reliefs.

The floor of the cavern is circular with a radius of 3.39 metres. It has a coved ceiling decorated with 40 sculptured images of Buddha. The front of the cavern has a 3.3-metre-wide opening and there is a rectangular chamber outside.

In the ancient India and China a cavern was dug into natural rock. In Silla, Sokkuram was carved out of rock and then covered with earth.

Sokkuram consists of an anteroom and a large domed chamber of granite blocks.

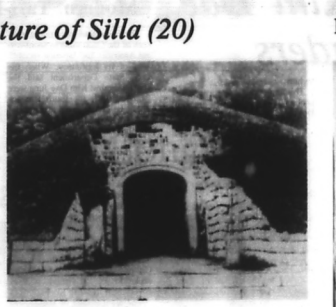
A book of Buddhist scriptures (dahrani) printed in wood-block type, indicative of the wood-block printing technique of Silla, was discovered under the Sokga Pagoda of the Pulguk Temple.

Dating back as far as before the mid-8th century, they were printed on mulberry paper proper to Korea and its leaf measures about 52cm in length and 8cm in width. Each volume has 13-14 leaves. So, its total length is nearly 7 metres. Each page has 55-63 lines.

Dahrani was found kept in gold, bronze, or silver reliquaries buried under the Sokga Pagoda.

This dahrani, a remain of Silla, is now preserved as the oldest wood-block print in the world. In former days the dahrani of the Horyuji Temple of Japan completed in 770 had been regarded as the oldest wood-block prints in the world. However, it is now clear that the dahrani unearthed from the Sokga Pagoda was printed at least 20 years earlier than that of the Horyuji Temple, for that pagoda was built in 751.

The dahrani of Silla buried under the Sokga Pagoda, must have been printed before the erection of the pagoda in 751, that is, much earlier than the mid-8th century. It has thus become an established fact that the dahrani of the Sokga Pagoda antedates any other wood-block prints ever known in the world.



The foreground of Sokkuram, a cavern

The artisans of Silla were resourceful and talented enough to be the first to produce wood-block prints in the world.

Since the end of the 7th century, according to the technical development of weapons, farming tools, ornaments, bells, Buddha images, the technique of mining and metallurgy was improved. The art of refining gold, silver, copper and iron was bettered steadily.

Bell of Pongdok Temple

One of the splendid handicraft works in the latter Silla is the bronze bell of the Pongdok Temple that was completed in 770. This bell was produced to the memory of King Songdok in 742. This masterpiece was let known even to her neighbouring countries in those days for its superb casting. The bronze bell weighs 72 tons and its calibre measures 2.47 metres, the girth of its mouth 7.73 metres and its thickness 26cm. The bell is one of the world's best relics of Buddhist culture. It was quite different in form from that of the then China or Japan and became the model of bells in the period of Koryo and the Li dynasty.

The bell is original in its form. Its lower rim and shoulder are girdled with petal-patterned belts. The breast is embossed with lotus and the waist with the reliefs of two fairies sitting on lotus fluttering their celestial robes. No other bells have such an excellent decoration. The bell sounds sweet. Its charming, sonorous sound travels as far as 40-kilometres away.

The bell of the Pongdok Temple was made under the guidance of noted artisan Pak Han Mi and four others of Silla. The successful casting of such a big splendid bell as the Pongdok Temple's eloquently proves the highly developed technique of metal casting in Silla.

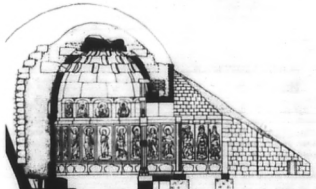
Architecture in this period was refined. In Kyongju, new palaces, mansions for aristocrats and temples were built. Since the Buddhism became the predominant religion, architecture of temples developed.

After the 7th century, constructed in Kyongju were many temples such as the Sachonwang Temple, the Kamun Temple, the Mangdok Temple—built in 685 and the Pulguk Temple: the Pusok Temple (Yongju, North Kyongsang Prov.), the Tonghwa Temple (Taegu, North Kyongsang Prov.), the Haein Temple (Somchon, South Kyongsang Prov.) and the Hwaom Temple (Kurye, South Cholla Prov.).

The Pulguk Temple was erected in 515 but it was rebuilt more grandly in 751. It still keeps no small number of excellent relics showing high architecture in its days. Built on a little high ground the facade of the temple is fringed by the stone floor on which there stand two huge gates, Chaha and Anyang, one to the east and the other to the west. Both gates have stone steps called Chongun, Paekun, Chilbo and Ryonghwa, in front, and each stone steps has an arch. In front of the Kum Hall (today's Taeung Hall) stand the two famous pagodas, Tabo and Sokga, opposite to each other.

These two pagodas are the best legacies typical of the architecture of Silla. They contrast with each other in form, but are common in technique. Architects of Silla invented a new form of pagoda which is more simplified and refined architecturally than the five-storey pagoda in Puyo and the pagoda of the Punhwang Temple. They created the typical form of a Korean stone pagoda with the elevated pedestal and corbels for each storey. The Sokga Pagoda of the Pulguk Temple, along with the twin pagodas in Chongun-ri, is a masterpiece indicative of a new typical form of pagoda in those days. Among such pagodas predominate quadrilateral three-storey pagodas. But there are a few pagodas of special form like the Saja Pagoda of the Hwaom Temple. There is also an extraordinary form of pagoda like the three-storey pagoda of the Chonghye Temple, whose first storey substitutes for the pedestal on which piled are small twelve storeys in the shape of a circular cone.

(To be continued)



A cross section of Sokkuram

Korean Youth Wins 'MacArthur' Prize in English Oratorical Contest

Li Jong Gu with 'MacArthur' Trophy

Recently, two Korean youths in Japan won prestigeous English oratorical contests.

Li Jong Gu, a senior of the Foreign Language Department of Choson University in Tokyo won the 1st prize at the 34th Annual National Intercollegiate English Oratorical Contest for the Mainichi Daily News and NHK trophies (MacArthur Trophy) held at the head office of the Mainichi Newspapers in Tokyo on July 6. His major is English.

A total of 19 finalists chosen in six regional eliminations competed in the finals. Prior to the finals some 100 representatives of each university or college contended at preliminary contests in six regions in June. Those who are recommended by the president of each university or college can attend this contest.

Li Jong Gu made his speech, entitled "My Mother Tongue." Touching upon his motive to learn his mother tongue, he, in his speech, expressed his determination to serve the Korean nationals in Japan and be a language teacher for the Koreans here in the future.

Judges for the contest were Brian T. Dewhurst, manager for North Asia, UPI; Lawrence B. Flood, director of American Center; Hara Yukio, chief announcer of Radio Japan, NHK; Peter Martin, representative of the British Council; and Matsui Eitoshi, managing editor of the Mainichi Daily News.

In Kyoto

On the other hand, Kim Hong Ja, English teacher of Kyoto Korean Junior and Senior High School, won Pre Intermediate and Above Category in the 12th Mayor of Honolulu All Japan ECC English Oratorical Contest under the auspices of the ECC Foreign Language Institute held on June 29 at the ECC head office in Osaka.

The contest was held with the support of Osaka city, NHK, Japan Air Line, Zambian and Turkish embassies, etc.

The contests was held on the uniform subject "My Goal in Life." In her speech she mentioned her national pride of having learnt at Korean schools in Japan though she was born in the alien land.

Stressing the necessity to learn the mother tongue for those who live in the foreign states, she said that she will do her best in her educational work for Koreans in Japan.

Li Jong Gu is a student of Choson University and Kim Hong Ja is a graduate of Choson University, the highest institution for the democratic national education of Koreans in Japan. It was founded in April, 1956 and has six four-year faculties (literature, history and geography, political economy, foreign language, science, and engineering), a two-year teachers training department, correspondence and postgraduate courses, and two research institutes.

A few years ago, Choson University won reputation here as a good school of foreign studies.

Kim Hyon Min, a post graduate of this university, won the 12th Spanish Speech Contest sponsored by the Japan-Spain Association in July, 1977 and as a suplementary prize he was awarded one-year study in Spain.

Another resident So Chung On, a senior of the university won an intercollegiate English speech contest held in November, last year, in celebration of the founding of the Wayo Women's University, Chiba Prefecture.

News Dispatch From Pyongyang

May 17

• The Cascaes city, Portugal Committee for Supporting the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea was inaugurated in Cascaes.

• An inaugural meeting of the Mexican Committee for Supporting Korea's Reunification was held in Mexico city.

May 21

• Pak Min Sop, newly-appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the DPRK to the independent state of Papua New Guinea, presented credentials to Torelo Koloko, Governor General of Papua New Guinea. The governor general expressed the belief that the friendly relations between Papua New Guinea and Korea would grow stronger and develop in the future.

May 26

• A delegation of the Lesotho National Party headed by V. M. Makhele, General Secretary of the CC of the Party and Minister of Rural Development and Cooperatives of the Kingdom of Lesotho, arrived in Pyongyang by plane.

• Bahriye Ucok, Director of the Ataturk Institute, Turkey, and her husband arrived in Pyongyang by air.

• A delegation of "Trybuna Ludu," organ of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party, headed by Jan Urbaniak arrived in Pyongyang by plane.

May 29

• According to a decree of the CPC of the DPRK, Li Jong Ok was appointed as DPRK Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.

(KCNA)

Pro-American Kim Dae Jung's Blunders

It must have been a most serious miscalculation to Kim Dae Jung. It is reasonably imaginable he never anticipated that Lt. Gen. Chon Du Hwan would become worse than the late Pak Jung Hi. When the lifting of emergency decree No. 9 led to the restoration of some of freedom of political activities, Kim Dae Jung at first tried to return to the New Democratic Party. Once his thinking was found unacceptable to the No. 1 Opposition party, he made up his mind to devote himself to the cause of bringing back democracy to south Korea.

Kim Dae Jung grouped his followers within the NDP and No. 2 Opposition party Democratic Unity Party, former "President" Yun Po Son and other dissident leaders. He organized nation-wide speaking tours, drawing increasingly worldwide attention.

Declaring his availability as a candidate for "President" but on the recommendations of his supporters, he vowed to strive for the restoration of democratic order for the time being as it was his top concern.

Those days, Japanese mass media gave prominent coverage to these developments in south Korea: "Democratization is a very popular word and rapid changes are anticipated in south Korea." Their message was: South Korea was near to spring at long last.

Unaware of Chon's Moves

However, in the meantime, intensive efforts were being launched by the Chon Du Hwan-led yusin remnant forces to consolidate their hold on power. With the assassination of Pak Jung Hi, Choi Gyu Ha was picked up as his titular successor through the rubber-stamp "National Conference for Unification," an electoral college. Choi was used as a front to cover up the moves to perpetuate yusin.

Their tactics was to pay lip service to democracy and carry out their own timetable for :"Constitutional amendments" in order to maintain the yusin regime without Pak Jung Hi.

These moves became immediately clear to the students and citizens at large, who rose nation-wide to protest the continuation of yusin. They were determined to bring back democracy even at the risk of their own lives.

Lt. Gen. Chon and his company anticipated those protests by expanding martial law to the whole of south Korea on May 17. Mass arrests were made of Kim Dae Jung, intellectuals, journalists, Christians, students and other democratic dissidents and all political activities banned. This must have been planned and put into practice in accordance with the premeditated scenario.

On December 12 last, the then army chief of staff and martial law commander Gen. Chong Sung Hwa and his followers were purged in a sort of coup, which gave Maj. Gen. Chon Du Hwan full control over the armed forces. Then, Chon promoted himself to the rank of lieutenant general and became a self-appointed acting director of the KCIA. Thus, he took control over the armed forces, military intelligence and civilian intelligence. His cabinet portfolio, given on April 14, provided him powers to attend any cabinet session.

Kim Dae Jung seemed to aware of the unlikelihood of Lt. Gen. Chon abandoning the yusin dictatorial regime. Yet, it is doubtful whether he anticipated such hardline retaliation which took place on May 17.

The May 17 arrests of Kim Dae Jung and former close associate of the late strongman Kim Jong Pil on charges of illicit amassing of fortunes were a well-considered act intended to divert public distrust and discontents nearing a full-scale explosion point and to portray Lt. Gen. Chon as a man of moral integrity. Signs are, however, that Kim Dae Jung was not alert to such true nature and violent measures of Chon.

Plan to Eliminate Kim Dae Jung

It should be recalled that Chon Du Hwan and his followers showed public hatred for Kim Dae Jung from the beginning and openly avowed to prevent him from taking state power under whatever circumstances by all means. They were watching a chance to find a pretext to indict him.

A good opportunity came when students organized massive demonstrations in downtown Seoul between May 15 and 17. Welcoming those protests as a godsend, Chon called a cabinet meeting on the evening of May 17, decided to apply full martial law throughout south Korea and round up Kim Dae Jung and all other democratic dissidents, together with potential foes within the ruling camp.

From that time on, a scenario was being produced to kill Kim Dae Jung and frame up charges against him. Nevertheless, this step met with a stubborn resistance, adding fuel to the anger of students, democratic dissidents and people at large.

South Cholla Province, a home base of Kim Dae Jung, was enveloped with demonstrations against the military dictatorship. In its capital, Kwangju, over 300,000 citizens seized control of the city from May 18 to 27 and held off army punitive forces. Their demands included an end to martial law, the resignation of Chon Du Hwan, the abolition of yusin and the release of Kim Dae Jung.

Kwangju demonstrations were peaceful rallies at first, but over 20,000 army paratroopers and ground combat troops, mobilized at the order of Chon, fired on non-violent citizens indiscriminately and committed atrocities against them, which caused the whole citizenry of the city to rise in a major uprising.

A conservative estimate puts the death toll of the Kwangju massacre at between 1,000 and 3,000, and reportedly over 10,000 were wounded. The victims comprised children, women and elderly people.

In an effort to impute whole responsibility for this massacre to Kim Dae Jung and deceive the public, the military framed up charges of sedition and organizing in connection with the Kwangju affair. He was branded as a mastermind of the uprising.

On July 4, what they called final results of the investigation of Kim Dae Jung were made public. He was charged with violating the "National Security Law" and "martial law decree" and "referred to the court-martial. He was tortured and suffered serious wounds from torture while undergoing army examinations. The charges carry a maximum penalty of death and the torture-inflicted wounds may prove fatal. In either case, death will come to him.

This sequence of events was most probably never expected by Kim Dae Jung.

Wrong Illusion About U.S. Help

Kim Dae Jung made another major blunder.

What is common among the south Korean democratic dissidents is trust in the support of the United States for democracy and the goodwill of Washington.

Kim Dae Jung assumed falsely that the Americans were really disturbed by the acts of Lt. Gen. Chon Du Hwan and seriously concerned with the restoration of democracy to the point of coming to his aid. Yet, this did not happen. He was wrong.

The Americans did nothing except for expressing "concern" when full martial law was expanded nation-wide. Regarding the Kwangju massacre, the Americans did nothing despite their much-tauted democratic values and respect for human rights.

The Americans came to the aid of Lt. Gen. Chon, citing the alleged threat from the north, the Americans allowed him to use south Korean troops under their command for operations against Kwangju and Seoul. Flattops, Midway and Coral Sea, and other naval ships, were ordered into Korean waters, as EIA's were removed to Okinawa. They gave unhesitating support to Chon Du Hwan and his company, trained in the United States and Vietnam veterans, who spoke good English and worshipped the things American.

A particular mention must be made of one example which illustrates the decision of Carter to abandon Kim Dae Jung in favor of a second Pak. On June 2, in a TV interview, Carter declared that ties with Seoul could not be severed simply on the grounds of human rights violations and reaffirmed that security considerations transcend human rights issues. To Washington, the security considerations mean the availability of south Korea as their continuing military base and colony. Therefore, it makes no difference whether south Korea goes dictatorial or democratic.

Such attitude is not accidental, as shown in the silence of the United States on the murderous behavior of Chon Du Hwan.

It was true of the U.S. attitude in Vietnam, Nicaragua and Iran. The shah, before and after his expulsion from Iran, still enjoys U.S. support. This U.S. the democratic dissident Kim Dae Jung trusted as a potential savior of his life and democracy in south Korea.

It seems that Chon now feels a sense of victory after installing himself as "chairman of the standing committee of the Special Committee for National Security" created after the fashion of the "Supreme Council for National Reconstruction" which the late strongman had made in the wake of his May 16, 1961 coup. He is now a virtual ruler in Seoul, temporarily unchanged.

With Choi Gyu Ha as his puppet, it was announced that "a draft Constitution" would be put to "a national referendum" and "Presidential election" would be held in the first half of next year. Nobody will believe that such measures would bring back democracy to south Korea.

Korea Focus

Modern Taft-Katsura Accord

The immediate paramount concern of the Chon junta in Seoul is to get American and Japanese recognition of its legitimacy. When the U.S. State Department said the charges against Kim Dae Jung were "far-fetched", the south Koreans might be disappointed. In a series of south Korea-Japan summit talks, the Japanese expressed "deep interest" and "profound concern" over the fate of the dissident leader.

However, this is not what is actually happening. Both Washington and Tokyo are readily supporting the Chon junta. In the United States there is a conservative upsurge reminiscent of McCarthyism. A significant tilt to the right is under way in Japan after the ruling party won twin Diet elections. In this context, both Japan and the United States are welcoming the installation of a virtual military government in south Korea.

The assumptions of the present south Korean-American relationships are such that the United States supports a given south Korean regime as long as it remains pro-American and anti-Communist, regardless of its excesses in human rights violations. This framework is a byproduct of the measures taken by Washington to encircle the socialist countries after WWII.

As for Seoul, being no party to the armistice agreement which ended the Korean War, the south Koreans reserve the right to open hostilities at any time and go north. In short, the refusal of Seoul to sign the armistice agreement was a joint product of the Americans and the south Koreans.

As a matter of fact, south Korean troops under the U.S. command were diverted first by Pak Jung Hi for his May 16, 1961 coup and then by Chon Du Hwan for his December coup last year, on the two occasions allegedly without prior American approval. If this were the case, there would be no need for the United States to keep operational control over the south Korean forces. Obviously, the United States gave not post-factum but advance agreement on the use of south Korean troops under its command for the two coups.

No political move is possible without American intervention in south Korea. A foreign correspondent who stopped over in Tokyo on his return from Seoul quoted an unnamed senior military officer as saying that the plan to create a 30-member Special Committee for National Security was submitted in advance to Gen. Wickham.

While giving the misleading impression that some sanctions were being considered, Washington is pouring huge economic assistance funds into south Korea. Congress decided not to allow further military withdrawals from south Korea and voted for greater military aid than last year.

Rumors are widespread that Chon Du Hwan will stand for "President," a thing which he must be thinking of attaining as his target. It is Washington and Tokyo that are convinced of the durability of the Chon junta. The south Korean people and the world community of states are unanimous in concluding that its ruin will come soon.

Anti-American Backlash

Before such downfall, Chon wants to execute Kim Dae Jung. What judgement history will hand down on him must be clear to his mind. The latest developments in

Sixty-four Americans visited Seoul to attend the June 9-10 south Korean-American economic council meetings. They praise Lt. Gen. Chon as "marvellous general."

The Japanese are employing similar tactics. During the Korean War, the then Yoshida Government of Japan, planning to achieve independence from the United States, cooperated with the American armed forces, including the dispatch of Japanese military personnel to the war front. Offshore orders from the U.S. forces boosted the Japanese economy. Thus, it was able to complete the postwar rehabilitation.

In the process of negotiating the reversion of Okinawa to Japan, the then Japanese Premier Sato offered to take over some of American aid to Seoul. After the May 16, 1961 coup, the "reparations from Japan" which resulted from the conclusion of the south Korea-Japan talks were funds with which Pak Jung Hi was saved from a crisis. Since till recently, Kim Jong Pil was a main liaison officer between Seoul and Tokyo.

When Kim Jong Pil was arrested and became politically dead, Tokyo sent special envoy Maeda and Kiuchi (director of the Asian affairs of the Foreign Ministry) to maintain its ties with Seoul. A joint governmental-civilian economic delegation composed of 127 members was sent to Seoul in a bid to compete with the Americans.

What does this American-Japanese friendship mean? President Carter failed to achieve unity of the Western camp in the Venice summit. Four Scandinavian countries and both France and West Germany are critical of Lt. Gen. Chon's treatment of Kim Dae Jung. Both Bonn and Paris agreed to urge other EEC countries to intervene with Seoul for the restoration of democracy and the release of Kim Dae Jung. These are entirely new developments which were not noted at the time of either Syngman Rhee or Pak Jung Hi.

At this juncture, Japanese Foreign Minister Okita Saburo said in his address at the Japan Press Club that Japan was not in a position to interfere in the internal affairs of south Korea like the Kim Dae Jung incident. The root cause of the present suffering of Kim Dae Jung lies in the fact that the Japanese Government refused to clarify the truth of his abduction in August, 1973.

If Tokyo had solved that issue from democratic diplomatic principles and had not given documents to Chon Du Hwan relating to his activities in exile, the present crisis would not have happened. Instead of helping Kim Dae Jung, the Japanese Government is trying to evade its responsibility for the incident. It is surprising to see Tokyo openly support Lt. Gen. Chon Du Hwan.

Are the Americans and the Japanese repeating the erstwhile Taft-Katsura agreement on Korea?

south Korea demonstrate the close association between the south Korean yusin remnant forces and the Americans. The growing public awareness of the role of the United States in the death of democracy and in the court-martialing of Kim Dae Jung would result in anti-American backlashes.

Both Iran and Nicaragua went to pieces as American client states, never under military pressures from the north. Too much tyranny and corruption undermined their own foundations, though money and weapons were provided in large quantities. Anti-American backlashes, not public until the last moment, because of the denial of the free press, led to the end of American presence in the two countries.

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